243 offered at the village shrine by the priestess. Today key agricultural
[782] events are still marked by small ceremonies in which the priestess be-
[793] seeches or thanks the gods, but the actual day for planting is determined by weather and the condition of seed.

When the rice is transplanted in March, the whole family spends long hours in the paddy. Then the paddies swarm with people; some prepare the soil by spreading fertilizer, others stand in the ooze to set
[476] the seedlings. Transplanting is done by mutual assistance groups, which will be discussed later in this chapter. They guarantee everyone a sufficient number of helping hands during the painstaking, rapid work, which has to be finished within a limited time. In a few days the whole paddy area suddenly turns from brown into the tender green of the young shoots. Once planted, intermittent weeding is all the care that is needed.

● [261] In July the rice turns brown and is ready for harvest. This is an
[857] event of joy for the whole village, for young rice is most delicious and loved by everyone. By then vacations have started, so that schoolchildren can help to cut rice and carry bundles to the spot where it is threshed in treadle-type machines, located either near the field or behind one's house. As soon as the rice is threshed, the grain is carried to a place in the village where the wind blows freely. There a woman holds a flat winnowing basket filled with grain at an angle to let the
[782] breeze separate the chaff from the grain. The first rice is cut by men
[264] and offered at the family shrine before the whole family eats a specially
[251] prepared gruel. Rice is usually stored in one or two oil drums in the kitchen-side corner of the front room. Better houses have a metal-lined
[256] storeroom. Once a week a supply is taken to the miller to be hulled and polished.

Those whose fields are sufficiently wet plant a second crop, and the cycle is repeated once more in midsummer, with the second harvest falling in late December.

244 Sweet potatoes can be planted throughout the greater part of the year if the soil is not too dry. They take from five to seven months to
[262] grow to full size. Although less popular than rice, no part of the plant
[231] is wasted. The large tubers are consumed, the small ones are usually fed to the pigs; the young leaves are used as vegetables, the older ones cooked into pig food. Slips are cut and used for planting a new crop.

The preferred variety of potato (*tadushi imu*) is grown in the dry paddies during the second rice season. To plant this potato, the soil must be piled up to form a long, narrow, flat-topped mound. One of the hardest jobs for farmers, this is done by men in the humid heat of a midsummer day. Women set the slips after the earth has been moved.
[251] These potatoes are the only variety which are thought to improve with

861 Physical punishment is much more frequent than the mothers' [124] interview answers would lead one to believe. In parent-child or sib- [593] ling interactions observed by us, the scolding or talking was usually simultaneous with a sharp crack on the head with the knuckles or a slap on the buttocks. It is true that a great deal of leeway is generally given the child, but mothers home from a strenuous day in the fields are more apt to scream and spank at the same time.

Tying of hands or feet for several minutes, or as much as an hour, is considered appropriate punishment for those who trespass into forbidden areas or play with taboo things like matches. Sometimes the child's wrists are tied with a piece of rice-straw rope to the front house posts. One 4-year-old boy wandered down to the beach to play with his 3-year-old cousin despite repeated warnings from his mother to the effect that this area was dangerous. Because he disobeyed this rule, he was tied hand and foot. In addition, he was spanked because at the same time he had abandoned his younger brother in the village to go to the beach with his cousin.

861 Another type of physical punishment, which is often threatened but 857 rarely used, is cauterizing a piece of skin on the neck, back, or hands with moxa. Children in play situations frequently act out giving moxa to a naughty child with a lot of teasing and mock anger. "Come here, you naughty one, we will give you moxa," they scream to each other. A 4-year old girl was cauterized by her father when she threw her chop- [261] sticks on the floor in a fit of anger. Because he believed that food was not only the product of hard labor but also a sort of blessing from the gods, he felt that this very painful enforcement was just.

861 Grandmothers, in particular, use pinching to enforce some rules of 867 etiquette. If a child forgets and extends his foot toward another person, she will take the flesh of the leg between her thumb and index finger, lift it and with a quick twist administer a punishment which is very painful. After the initial experience, all she has to do is to put her hand in position for pinching to her lips and breathe out audibly as if to say, "I'm warming up!" and the child will correct himself.

861 Older brothers and sisters are apt to be "quicker with the hand," ac- 593 cording to mothers. Generally they agreed that this may be the reason [857] for their effectiveness in handling their younger charges. Frequently all an older sibling needs to do is to raise a warning hand, look disapprovingly, or call with a stern voice when his charge is about to misbehave.

Although mothers do most of the spanking, scolding, and talking, children fear their fathers a great deal more than they do their mothers. Mothers claim that this is true in most cases and offer an ex-

planation: "Maybe this is because the children know well our strength. They don't know their father's strength but believe somehow that it could be much more painful." One could, of course, relate this to the cultural concept of maleness as opposed to femaleness as discussed previously.

Praising and rewarding are techniques that are administered in a very haphazard fashion in Taira. While the child is still very young, up until he is about 2, praise and rewards are lavished on him for almost anything. If he responds to his mother's entreaties to hand over a stick with which he might hurt himself or to bow when meeting someone, he is hugged, kissed, and told over and over, "Good child, good child."

As the child grows older, these extravagant displays of praise and reward lessen. Instead the child may receive promises of something good to eat or a coveted article of clothing in return for some good deed or commendable behavior. Generally the child has to remind his mother many times before he is actually rewarded. By the time the child is of school age he takes these promises with a grain of salt and usually forgets them himself. Only when the children were questioned by us on rewards did it become obvious that parents promised a great deal more than they could ever hope to produce. For, from the plain view of economics, no family could purchase all the goodies pledged for good behavior. Nevertheless, for younger children these promises mean something, and they always look forward to the day when their mothers will color their evening rice red or make them some fried dumplings. Rewarding a child with food proves to be as effective a technique of socialization as threatening to deprive him of food.

Occasionally, in a rare burst of enthusiasm, parents may reward a child to make up for all the empty promises. During one of the rice harvests, a 10-year-old boy worked alongside his parents with as much concentrated effort as any adult. All day he stayed in the fields without running away to join his playmates, as some other boys his age did. At the end of the day his mother prepared some festive food. She colored the rice, and the dinner was a merry one. The man from next door who had helped out that day sat drinking sake with the boy's father. "Here, why don't you have some sake, you did as much work as any of us," offered the father. Neighbor and mother urged the boy on and laughed merrily as the boy sipped a bit of the sake.

Even before he is able to understand the significance of the words, a child in Taira is praised and censured with "good child," and "naughty child." Especially during infancy, mothers will tease babies by gently slapping them and saying over and over with mock anger,

261 262 Famine Food and Wartime Substitutes The standard famine foods on Okinawa have always been dried sweet potato chips or refuse from the making of starch, sago palm nuts and the pulp of the same palm. The latter two are eaten with restraint, as they contain small [252] amounts of an alkaloid poison. The sweet potato materials are made into soups, and the sago palm provides a type of flour for deep frying, or 'tempura'.

[137] During the last war, soups were also made from the stem of the plant Ligularia Kaempferia, known as 'tsuwabuki' in Japanese, and chiipappā in Okinawan. One Nanahan farmer related, "The chiipappā which I ate in Kin-son during the war was delicious, and one felt better after eating it. When I came back here, I tried our local variety, but it is bitter and inedible." The [252] giant African snail was used to alleviate famine just before the invasion. It was boiled in its shell, then de-shelled and the "snail juice" washed out with a bitter orange called shiisā. The meat was then fried with vegetables and the white part of a leek.

273 177 276 272 Japanese soldiers during the war taught the Okinawans how to make a strong liquor from sugar cane, as no real 'sake' or 'awamori' was then available. Tobacco was also scarce, and pine tree bark was substituted. Some people preferred to smoke the leaves of the 'mogusa' plant, which is also used for cautery. One very poor family in Nanahan still retains the practice. Tea could not be bought in the late pre-invasion period, and the beans of the lantana bush furnished a palatable substitute.

263 Uses of Sugar in the Home When a guest calls at an Okinawan farmer's home, he is served tea, black sugar chunks, and quite [574] often 'awamori'. Many other uses were related. It is used in batter for deep [757] frying; for cure of headache, sickness, and fainting spells; for a hangover; and when food is not delicious.

CHAPTER IX: HEALTH

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121 This chapter will begin with a section on the human body---attitudes
128 toward and practices concerned with its care and its functions. This will be followed by a section on sanitation---attitudes and practices. A third section will deal with concepts of the supernatural and their relationship to illness. A fourth will describe the various types of "medical" practitioners found in Okinawan society, and Okinawan attitudes toward modern medicine. It will be seen that this chapter contains much that is often described under the heading "Religion" or even "Values" and contains little on the actual state of health and incidence of disease among the Okinawans. But we believe that this is as it should be in a report on Okinawan culture. That sanitation is poor and disease is prevalent is no doubt all too apparent to the medical observer. A detailed study of the diseases themselves must be made by research workers competent in that field. A study of native culture, however, reveals some of the underlying causes of poor sanitation and poor health. We feel therefore that this is a valid unit and properly put under the title "Health".

1. The Human Body: Practices and Attitudes

261 Eating and Drinking Okinawans enjoy food and drink and make numerous events the occasion for their enjoyment. Questions about holidays frequently soon elicit long descriptions of the types of dishes appropriate to each. To a Westerner the variety may not seem great, but to the Okinawans a slight difference in the consistency of a soup may call for a
262 differentiating term. The variety of foods is probably as great as it can be within the limits of Okinawan resources. Foods are valued differently.
[171] Rice ranks high, sweet potatoes low. Pork is esteemed, as in China but not in Japan.

264 Three meals a day is usual. Rice, soup, and boiled foods are served in bowls, fried foods in flat dishes. These are eaten with chopsticks. The bowl may be held in the hand near the mouth; soup may be drunk directly from it. Some foods, such as noodles, are habitually sucked up with considerable noise. This noise is neither made purposely nor is it avoided; it just does not matter. Children may bolt their food without being scolded for it, but adults seem to have no compulsion to eat fast, as the Japanese are said to
[574] have. On festive occasions men are served in the first room, women in the second. On these occasions a portion may be served already in a box so that it may be taken home. On ordinary occasions the family may eat together,
[321] though women often eat in the kitchen by the oven. Conversation of both
[574] light and serious matter may accompany eating. Serving food is essential to the entertainment of guests and to the payment of social debts.

273 Drink is also essential to entertainment. Tea is drunk first thing
[272] in the morning and at any time of the day or evening. But for men something stronger is also desirable. Usually it is the clear, strong, distilled drink